

Message Text

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED TO THE EFFECT THAT FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENDURING CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED, EACH SIDE WILL USE THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION AT ITS DISPOSAL. MEASURES HAVE ALSO BEEN AGREED UPON WHICH WOULD ENSURE THE UNIMPEDED FUNCTIONING OF SUCH MEANS FOR VERIFICATION PURPOSES. SUCH A FIRM UNDERSTANDING, RECORDED IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS IN FORCE, IS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE DRAFTS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985, WHICH HAVE BEEN TABLED BY THE SIDES. A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF ARTICLE XV OF THE SOVIET DRAFT AND ARTICLE X OF THE U.S. DRAFT, PERTAINING TO THIS QUESTION, SHOWS THAT THE LANGUAGE THEY CONTAIN FULLY COINCIDES, EXCEPT FOR SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT WORDING IN PARAGRAPH 3.

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AS FOR THE PROPOSED ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS OR

DEFINITIONS, AS CONVINCINGLY SHOWN IN THE STATEMENTS OF THE USSR DELEGATION OF FEBRUARY 21, 26 AND 28, 1975, THEY ARE NOT DICTATED BY NECESSITY. THE OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN THE SOVIET DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IN ALL THEIR ENTIRETY ARE COMPLETELY VERIFIABLE PRECISELY BY THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE SIDES.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE STATES: "THE NEW AGREEMENT COULD ALSO PROVIDE FOR ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC ARMS DURING ITS TERM."

THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING OUT THIS AGREED PROVISION, THE DELEGATIONS SHOULD AGREE ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MEASURES OF LIMITATION IN THIS FIELD, FOR INCLUSION IN THE AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CITED DIRECT INSTRUCTION OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, A PROVISION ON THE EXERCISE OF RESTRAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WAS INCLUDED IN ARTICLE I OF THE SOVIET DRAFT. ARTICLE IX MAKES THIS PROVISION SPECIFIC BY PROVIDING FOR AN UNDERTAKING BY THE SIDES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY CERTAIN NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH DO NOT AS YET EXIST, BUT COULD BE DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED DURING THE TERM OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS PROVIDED DETAILED RATIONALE FOR THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET SIDE ON THIS QUESTION, IN ITS STATEMENTS OF FEBRUARY 1, 4 AND 18 AND MARCH 4, 10 AND 14, 1975. IN THE FUTURE WE INTEND TO CONTINUE SETTING FORTH OUR CONSIDERATIONS IN THIS CONNECTION. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE STATEMENTS MADE HERE BY THE U.S. SIDE, WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THESE QUESTIONS IN ACCORDANCE

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WITH PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE.

TODAY I WOULD ONLY LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE ALLEGATION THAT SOME PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE IX OF THE SOVIET DRAFT ARE CONTRARY TO THE OBJECTIVES OF THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD IS BASED ON MISUNDERSTANDING. WHAT IS MORE, WE HAVE NOT EVEN HEARD ANY KIND OF CONCRETE BASIS HERE FOR SUCH AN ALLEGATION.

ALSO CLOSELY IN ACCORD WITH PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE IS ARTICLE VIII OF THE SOVIET DRAFT, WHOSE CONTENT WE ADDRESSED AT THE MEETINGS ON MARCH 4 AND 18, WHICH PROVIDES, IN PARTICULAR, FOR AN UNDERTAKING BY THE SIDES NOT TO INSTALL AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ON ANY TYPE OF AIRPLANE, HELICOPTER OR OTHER AIRCRAFT, EXCEPT THE BOMBERS MENTIONED IN ARTICLE II, SUBPARAGRAPH 2(C), OF THE SIVIET DRAFT. THIS ARTICLE, JUST AS ARTICLE IX OF THE DRAFT, DEALS WITH BANNING NEW STRATEGIC SYSTEMS NOT YET DEPLOYED.

THIS SHOWS THE GROUNDLESSNESS OF THE SUPPOSITION THAT ARTICLE VIII OF THE SOVIET DRAFT ALLEGEDLY "GOES BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING." I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT IT IS ALSO THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT TO PREVENT A FURTHER ARMS RACE AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THE LIMITATIONS BEING WORKED OUT MUST BLOCK POSSIBLE CHANNELS FOR SUCH A RACE.

AS FOR THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XIII OF THE SOVIET DRAFT, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE DIRECTLY RELATED TO PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, WHICH PROVIDES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL ALSO CONTAIN A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS MUST BEGIN NO LATER THAN 1980-81.

OF COURSE, YOUR STATEMENT REGARDING ARTICLE XIII, MADE TODAY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WILL BE REPORTED TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. I BELIEVE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN TO THIS QUESTION IN
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THE FUTURE.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

UNDER CONDITIONS WHEN, ALONG WITH CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF GENERAL QUESTIONS, WE HAVE TURNED TO WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS FOR THE JOINT TEXT, IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT ONCE AGAIN TO CHECK OUR GUIDELINES SO THAT THE FURTHER WORK OF THE DELEGATIONS AT THIS EXTREMELY RESPONSIBLE STAGE OF THE NEGITIATIONS, UPON WHICH WE HAVE ENTERED, PROCEED IN PRECISELY THAT DIRECTION WHICH HAS BEEN LAID DOWN BY THE UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

THE SOVIET SIDE UNSWERVINGLY STRIVES TO ENSURE

THAT THE CONTENT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING BE EMBODIED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT FULLY AND WITH ABSOLUTE PRECISION, FOR--AND I WOULD LIKE TO QUOTE THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 ONCE AGAIN--THAT DOCUMENT SETS FORTH "THE AGREED TERMS BY WHICH THE SIDES WILL BE GUIDED IN WORKING OUT A NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS."

NATURALLY, THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A FORMAL CONSIDERATION. BEHIND EACH PROVISION OF THE UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED STAND TRUE VITAL PROCESSES AND PHENOMENA OF REALITY, WHICH WERE REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE. THEREFORE CHANGES OF ANY WORD OR PHRASE SHOULD BE ANALYZED ABOVE ALL FROM THE STANDPOINT OF WHETHER OR NOT THE PROPOSED CHANGES ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE SENSE OF THE UNDERSTANDING OUR COUNTRIES HAVE WORKED OUT.

IN THE FUTURE, TOO, WE WILL DO EVERYTHING TO CONTINUE OUR SEARCH FOR WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THE RESPONSIBLE TASK BEFORE US BY JOINT EFFORTS AND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, ON THE BASIS OF AND IN STRICT ACCORD WITH THE RESULTS OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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